1: Burrows--120-121
116, 462, 476, 574

(1947-48)

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The role of women in this task [KS: manufacture of a new seine] followed the usual pattern. In the first place, women had prepared the fiber of which the cord was made. This was individual work. Toward the end of the job women took part in groups. While men [121] from all the districts took their sections of net, mostly unfinished, to the Falālap canoe-house and went on with the work there, the women of Falālap prepared food for the assemblage. On the first day of this, I counted 24 bowls and baskets, and believe there were some others that escaped my count. On what was officially the final day (actually some finishing touches took several days after that), a still larger gathering required a still larger feast, this time contributed from all parts of the atoll. My count that time was 52 baskets and pots; and later a canoe came from Falārik, loaded high with more, which I did not manage to count."

3: Thilenius and Hellwig--253 (1909-10) 1927 Woleaians
116, 574, 609 Woleai

The Watoʔai natives endeavoured in every way to make the stay of their guest a pleasant one....As was the case on Máriam and Wolea, here, too, a pathway, lined with stones run in west-easterly direction through the whole length of the island.

4: Krämer--82 (1909) 1937 Woleaians
116, 438, 574 Lamotrek

Trade is carried on principally with Truk. Attention is given to the question of tribute paid to Yap. I learned the following story in this connection: a woman, Lefagemai from Lamotrek drifted west and reached Yap, where she was hospitably received by the chiefs. When she was ready to sail back home she received presents of turmeric (reng) for herself and for all the chiefs of the islands, who in turn were obliged to make tribute payments.

12: Lutke--131
116, 574

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Faraulep

He [AN: the chief Alaberto] depicted his native country as the most wretched place in the world as it provided no food whatsoever save fish and coconuts, and you even had to drink the latter if no rain fell. We had already learned how to treat our callers, and before proceeding to any other gifts, we offered them a luncheon of biscuit and Guahan fruits; this certainly pleased them as much as did the knives and scissors.

12: Lutke--135-136 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 177, 574 Woleai

While we were lying still there were fully seventy canoes gathered around us; I gave orders that for some time no one should be allowed to come on board because these inlanders interfered greatly with our work. Finally one of them pointed to himself and began to cry pilote [136]. Although I frankly did not expect to get much assistance from this man in that capacity yet I thought that he doubtless knew a little Spanish and that he might be useful in that way. I therefore invited him to come on board; but it then developed that, except for the word pilote, he did not know any Spanish at all. In a little while he showed us a man in shirt sleeves, who was holding a package in his hand, and he said that this man was also a pilot. We asked him to come up. He gave us two amusing letters, which were carefully wrapped up in an old English newspaper. One was addressed to the previous governor of the Marianas Islands, the other to Mr. Torrès, and they were written by the captains of some whalers which had called here during the previous year. In one of these letters, the bearer, who was called Tapeligar, was given the title of "second governor." As Tapeligar had received these letters which were supposed to be sent to Guahan, he kept them as a sort of recommendation. We got the explanation of the word pilote when we discovered that Pilote, Capitan and Tamol are all synonyms here; so the people who we thought were pilots were really only chiefs.

12: Lutke--137
116, 574

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

We did not find the same hospitality here as at Lougounor; on that island every host invited us to sit down and treated us to coconuts; here we had to ask for them, and often more than once.

12: Lutke--140
116, 574, 609

(1828) 1835

Woleaians
Woleai

The chief Tapeligar was one of our most frequent visitors. I found him seated on his canoe under a tent. It appears that on land as well as on the water their canoes serve constantly as thrones. We scarcely ever saw the chiefs doing anything except sitting on their canoes. Tapeligar acted on the boat as if he were at home; but he did not seem disposed to repay me in the same way; after sending for some coconuts he suggested that we return to my launch, and he did not seem too pleased when I said that I wished that he would accompany me around his island instead.

12: Lutke--141 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 562, 574 Woleai

As usual we were surrounded by most of the male population of the group, and this time there were women too. Several canoes full of them kept circling around the schooner, and they made more noise than all the other boats put together. They did not ask if they might come on board; perhaps they were waiting for the invitation which we did not extend. That may be because they were all dreadfully ugly. It is not likely that there are not some pretty ones on the island; possibly the jealous men do not permit them to leave the house.

12: Lutke--141-142 (1828) 1835 Woleaians
116, 574, 643 Woleai

Towards evening we received a call from the big chief of the whole group, Rooua, who is described in the Memoires of Mr. Chamisso. I had told Lieutenant Zavalichine that when he was surveying the eastern part of the group he should call at Rooua's residence, Oulemarai, and should present gifts and pay him homage. They had had a good deal of trouble in making the old man understand who was responsible for all these fine things, and by what fortunate chance they should descend upon him in this way; but as soon as he understood the situation, he insisted on coming to see us himself; [142] and he quite forgot that paralysis had deprived him of the use both of his arms and legs. I should have liked to receive this feeble old man, who could scarcely breathe; but he almost fell in the water and it took him a long time to recover. So the conference had to take place on his canoe. I gave him and his wife, who was slightly younger than he, everything that I could think of. The tamols on the sloop said that I could have him lifted and brought on board on a chair, but I thought that it would be dangerous to expose the old man to this ordeal, and we separated after paying him all due honor on his territory.

28: Spiro--11-13 [WPM: Manuscript 116, 484, 574 omits p. 12] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians Ifalik

"The natives are excellent seamen, so that inter-island travel is frequent. These voyages, though undertaken primarily for recreation pure and simple, serve important social and economic functions. All these islands are small, geographically and demographically, and the opportunity to travel, to see different landscapes and different faces, is eminently desired. [13] At the same time, most people have friends and/or relatives on other islands, and they are most desirous of visiting with them. Furthermore, visiting travelors bring back reports of their travels to their fellows, informing them of all major as well as minor events--deaths, marriages, petty gossip, etc."

"Persons visiting other islands will stay at the homes of close relatives, or of clan members, where they will sleep and eat. They may stay as long as they like, though all but one of the visitors to Ifaluk during our stay remained no more than a week, their departure being determined by favorable winds and currents. [14] One boy from Woleae whose sister was married to a native of Ifaluk remained for six months. Since the islands fall into groups, a canoe will usually visit a number of islands on one voyage. A departing canoe will receive a send-off by a number of people, who fill it with coconuts and food for its journey.

The upshot of this discussion, and the point I wish to stress, is the high degree of cooperation and mutual aid obtaining between the islands. The people are deeply interested in the other islands and express genuine concern about their wellbeing. This is best illustrated by the aid Ifaluk extended to Woleae during World War II. The Japanese established a navy base on Woleae, which is approximately 30 miles from Ifaluk, preempted the food supply, and left the natives to their own ingenuity. When Ifaluk learned of their desperate condition, the Ifaluk chiefs extended the hospitality of their islands to the entire population of Woleae, about 400 strong, and despatched Ifaluk canoes to transport the Woleaneans. The lived on Ifaluk for the duration of the war, without payment of any kind. When asked to comment on this generosity, Ifalukins remark that the Woleaneans

are 'all same brothers this place', and this was just a brotherly gesture, not any unusual display of generosity or sacrifice."

28: Spiro--17-18 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 574, 622, 157 Ifalik

"But the chiefs have responsibilities other than economic. The chiefs are the official hosts of any traveler to the island. If by chance, the visitor has no kinsmen on Ifaluk, or if he be a dignitary, such as a chief or an American, it is the responsibility of the chief to make his stay as pleasant as possible. Thus, if people gave us gifts of food, they did so as a gesture of friendship, but the chiefs took upon themselves the responsibility of caring for our wants and needs, as part of their duties as chiefs. Not a day would pass when we were not brought food or drinking coconuts by at least one of them, and they were assiduous in [18] dropping in on us to inquire about our welfare, and to ask whether we needed or wanted anything. Of course they, as individuals, were interested in our welfare, but there was little doubt that they were acting as chiefs, as representatives of their people, lest our needs not be satisfied and then Ifaluk would be 'more down.' All the chiefs responded in the Stewart Emotional Response Test, that one of the things that would cause them great shame would be a comment by a chief of another atoll to the effect that the Ifaluk chief was a poor host."

28: Spiro--26 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 621, 574, 431 Ifalik

"Besides the control of marriage, the clans possess only one other important function--the channeling of hospitality, in inter-island relationships. That is, a native visiting another island will resort to a member of his own clan for food, housing, and trade. This trade is really gift exchange, for the natives do not use money, nor do they barter, in the sense of exchanging value for equal value. The visiting native will bring gifts, and will receive some gift in return. The term gift, is used advisedly because that is how the natives conceptualise this exchange."

28: Spiro--64
116, 755, 574

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The afternoon following this ceremony was the occasion for the usual feast. The men went fishing in the morning and the women prepared taro, and again each family brought its own food, consuming it at the house of Navor. Of course, only those who had participated in the ceremonies came to the feast. The people were dressed in their finest--the women wore their new lavalavas, and the men and women both had painted faces. Every one was solemn and very quiet and talk was hushed and low. This insistence on silence at these feasts results in the only attempt I know of to curb the free expression of children. A mother will slap her child's hand, or put her hand over its mouth if he should persist in speaking loudly. This training apparently is quite effective, since the adults conform to this practice of silence without exception. After completing their meals, the people departed one by one, though not before Arogeligar had distributed the cigarettes that we had brought to Maroligar, and had made a humorous speech."

28: Spiro--114
116, 858, 476, 574

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"The children not only engage in economic activities, but they also assume adult social responsibilities. For example, if I were to enter a courtyard, the young girls offer me food, or the young boys would offer me part of the fish they had caught. But their culturally learned cooperative behavior extends to the more subtle aspects of the culture as well. One afternoon I was playing with the children, and the skies became overcast. The older girls became very concerned about me. If it should begin to rain, would I have some place to go? Perhaps I had better leave now before it begins to rain. Finally they had to go, but only after I reassured them that if it did rain I would seek shelter. These young girls were displaying a very important cultural value, concern for the welfare of the guest."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

and the photographer is apt to be much resented. Yet people like to see the pictures. I never could see that the Ifalukians minded my photographic habits. They tended at first to stop work and pose when they saw me with the camera, but they quickly got the idea that I wanted them to continue working without paying any attention to me. The kids were particularly cooperative since (it was Ted's idea) I always had a pocket full of hard candies for distribution.

The people from Satawal left the next morning, Monday. I forgot to mention that when we arrived on Ifaluk, we found we had been preceded, a few days earlier, by a set of visitors from Satawal, another atoll about 150 miles to the east: three of the big ocean-going canoes, carrying thirty-seven men and boys, two women, two young girls and two babies. They were making a round of visits to the islands of the area in the traditional style, and during their stay on Ifaluk they were guests of the community.

Here in the Western Carolines the knowledge and practice of navigation with ocean-going canoes persists, while it is only a dim memory in most parts of the Pacific. Here too it will surely and perhaps promptly disappear, since it is, by any reckoning, a hazardous affair. The palus, the captain-navigators, of Ifaluk were all old men, and few of the young men seemed to be learning the art. The young men that we questioned had all travelled rather widely among neighboring atolls—but mostly in trade ships, or in the course of being moved about for labor by the Japanese during the war. Yani, for instance, who had travelled a great deal in ships, going to Yap to work on the airstrip, and to Palau for the start of his teacher education, had made only two canoe trips—both to nearby atolls—and he had no interest in further canoe travel.

The navigating methods of the Polynesians and Micronesians are not too well understood, and no European has ever accompanied them on an ocean voyage—or at least no European has ever written an account of such a voyage. Ted, in consequence, wanted very much to go with the Satawal flotilla which was heading next for Elato, some fifty miles to the east. Ted pointed out that while the trip might be hazardous, it was surely no more hazardous than driving on a parkway in the United States on Sunday, which millions of people did with no

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

imagination. But his poise, his dignity, seemed to have a very real quality, completely independent of the trappings of position or pretence. 643

I remember the evening early in our stay when he stopped by the Fan Nap just as we were starting our dinner of spam, canned sweet potatoes and canned string beans. We asked him to join us, which he did with apparent pleasure, even making noises of appreciation over the string beans—the equivalent in my own household, over new food, of "how interesting." When we were finished he went off with his plate, cup and silver and washed it and started to try to wash a pot! It was like the thoughtful guest back home who insists on helping with the dishes; somehow, as real a gesture of courtesy as I have ever seen. 123 643 [264]

The next day, when I went to photograph progress on the canoe that was being built in the Falepenach canoe house, I found Fagolier working away with an adze on a plank, the efficient artisan. Usually he was right in the middle of any work in progress, carrying his full load. [412]

He was always the thoughtful host. Everyone on the island was always a thoughtful host—but Fagolier, as chief, along with Maroligar, number two chief and proprietor of the particular spot where the Fan Nap stood, were especially attentive. I noted my impression in my diary one morning when Fagolier brought us fresh coconuts. He came with two handsome boys bearing the nuts, for all the world like two pages attending a prince. The pages placed the coconuts as directed by a wave of the hand, and during the ensuing period of polite silence, they sat quietly and respectfully in the background, so that the feeling of court was maintained. 504 643 123 [622] [431]

I watched him directing a dance rehearsal one night. Don was involved with Yani's English and Ted with something else, and when Fagolier and Maroligar left the Fan Nap after their usual check on our comfort, they obviously expected me, at loose ends, to come along with them. When we got to the fire, they seemed to expect me to join the line of dancing men. So—away from the eyes of my fellow Westerners—I did. 123 535 643

Certainly I was very awkward and shortly I abandoned the attempt,

"Fig. 6. -Plan of men's house (fan nap).

1, front post (ongarIk);
2, middle posts (sur oungo), supporting ridge pole.
3, stone corner posts (sur perou).
4, vertical gable thatch, extending from height of eaves to peak."